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she has had in bringing babies into the world." If she has "a family of fine children of her own," it is a happy augury. Very important is her right to perform a ceremony, to pray and sing and treat the newborn infant ritually. It is not absolutely essential to have such a "ceremonial" woman in command at this time, but, since success in life depends so largely on ritual preparation, she functions in a majority of births. This woman is well paid for her services; some valuable property, often a horse, is her reward.

When the time for delivery draws near, the husband leaves the home. Unless an emergency arises, he cannot be present at the birth, for relatives of his wife to whom he stands in a relationship of respect and avoidance are certain to be there.[1]

There is no definite rule which bars other men from being present. In fact, they are sometimes asked to attend in emergencies. But usually "men don't come to a birth because there are so many women around, and a man would feel funny." Another factor which discourages their attendance is that discharges from the woman's body at childbirth are to some extent equated with menstrual blood, from which a man can contact painful swelling of the joints.

During delivery the woman kneels with legs apart before an oak post which she uses to steady herself. Assistants hold her arms if she requires aid. To facilitate the birth, the genitals may be bathed in water in which the pounded root of a plant (*Eriogonum jamesii*) has been boiled. A similar decoction will be used after the birth to insure rapid healing. To speed birth, four small, light-colored pieces of the inner leaves of narrow yucca may be swallowed with salt, one after the other. The midwife massages the woman's abdomen downward and receives the child. With a long black flint or with a sharp edge of a length of reed or yucca leaf, she cuts the umbilical cord about one and one-half inches from the baby's navel and knots the end or ties it with a strand of yucca-leaf string. If the child does not cry or breathe at once, cold water is dashed on its body. When a baby is obviously alive

[1] For an account of these observances see pp. 163–81.

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On the other hand, you take N. over there. He's a well-formed man and should be a good dancer, but he has no natural inclination to be a masked dancer. You have to be in special physical condition to do this dance, like in prize-fighting.

Despite the dangers there are many factors which induce men to become masked dancers and insure their continued enthusiasm for the art:

If you have never taken the part of the masked dancer, the first time you put on the mask you feel awkward. I must have been twenty-five years old the first time. They were going to have my brother dance. They were starting to mark him with paint. I was riding a horse and came up to them. Someone said, "Here's a better one; he's older." My brother put on his clothes. I didn't want to dance, but they begged me to, so I did. My father was painting four. He is supposed to make four. Sometimes he only gets two or three men; but he won't do it with one.

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My father said, "My son, I want to tell you some things before you start, for this is your first time. Putting this mask on and getting everything on tight is going to feel awkward. When you are led out to the fire by the leader, there is going to be a big crowd of people, but they don't know who you are. Don't be bashful. This is your first time, and the way you dance now is going to influence all the dancing you ever do. If you act bashful when you start to dance, that habit is going to stay with you. If the other dancers are lively and are trotting around there like wild steers and you drag and aren't lively, you'll always dance like that. The leader is the one who is the best dancer. Watch your leader, Y. Watch how he holds his hand up and do as he does. Don't watch the last man." And my father said, "You must dance four nights the first time you are in this work."

Y. talked to me before we went out. He said, "Take short steps. Don't spread your legs. Don't have your head down. Look at your sticks. Keep the horns of your headdress in line."

When you get over there and start to dance, you must be singing for yourself, humming a little. Y. told me to do it, to learn this way. You don't have to do it later when you know how. I asked my father if this was the way to learn to be a good dancer, and he said "Yes." No one can hear you in all that noise. I learned many songs this way.

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I danced for my father for several years, for T., for D., and for M. All these people do it about the same but have different designs. They do the way my father does. They sit there singing and praying while the dancers are painted.

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They pay the very best dancers. They might send for a dancer who was thirty miles away. Then they would have to pay him. I was sometimes paid.

Sometimes I'd want to dance all right, but I would hesitate a little so that they'd pay me. I'd say, "Oh, it's too much work, too hard." P. paid me when his daughter went through the girl's ceremony. I said I didn't want to do it.

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535 They came for me several times. Finally P. came. He said, "My friend, I want
465 you to do it. Dance, and the first time the masked dancers come to the fire, I'm going to show you what I will give you." So we were coming to the fire. I was the leading dancer. P. came to us. He put up his hand and gave me a big present.

535 The virtuoso among dancers is sometimes particular and demanding concerning the conditions under which he will lend his services:

When I was a leading dancer, I wanted a long stick so that I wouldn't have to bend to place it on the ground. That's the teaching I got from my father and from the leading dancer. When I wanted to make it short, I'd grab it in the middle. So if they gave me a short stick, I'd throw it to another dancer, and they'd make a long one for me. Each dancer always carries two sticks.

[532] I always wanted a new mask. During the winter I might notice that another had used, in a curing ceremony, the mask I usually wore. Then in the spring or summer they would want me to dance. I would say, "I want a new mask. I'm not going to have someone else in my mask. They sweat in there, and it's dangerous and gives diseases."

535 The experienced dancer takes delight in mastery over the
532 minute details of his calling:

Then my father would make me a new mask. He would put the buckskin over my head. "Where are your eyes?" he would ask. I would tell him to make the holes, not at my eyes, but over my eyebrows. He would mark it and make the holes there. Y. told me it should be done this way because the buckskin stretches. Then, when the buckskin is pulled down, it will be just right.

"How do you know the holes should be high?" my father asked. "You told me to follow Y. and that's what he told me."

"That's good," said the old man. "Some dancers tell me to put the holes just at their eyes. Then they go digging at the holes with their sticks, trying to make them bigger, when they are going around the fire."

535 Within his own sphere the masked dancer is relatively independent:

Sometimes there are sixteen masked dancers at the feast grounds. The best men don't want to dance out there where it's crowded. They can't dance well then. You can come in and dance and go out about four times and then you can stop if you want to. You don't have to ask the shaman; you just go over to the place where you were painted and leave the equipment there. Sometimes the old man will ask when he sees you the next day, "Why did you stop so soon last night?" You just make some excuse. When you quit, you come back and watch the dances.

When you're out there in the woods resting between dances, the people call for the dancers. You don't have to pay any attention. You come back when you

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The domestic intruder receives mention: 881 533 539

He asks me what happened
To his wife!

For the young people who are planning an assignation, a song has this reminder:

Wait for me
At the high bluff over there.

One song has to do with those who have become acquainted at the feast and soon must separate:

You will go back to your distant home;
We will be lonesome.

At midnight, often at the time when the second social dance of the evening is about to get under way, food is again served. 881 535

I have called the second dance of the night the "partner" dance: [264]

After the circle dance, the men get in a group by the fire and the women go around and choose partners. A woman pulls at a man's clothes or pokes him if she wants him for a partner. Then he has to dance.

It's a general rule that the man has to pay the woman something if he dances with her. He pays after the four nights. If you haven't got anything, you tell the woman the first night so she can choose someone else. It is understood that if you dance with a woman you have something for her. It's not that you have to pay if you dance, but it's just too bad if you don't. Everybody talks about you. The girl will tell everyone. She will say, "That man is no good; he didn't pay." All the girls will say this then. [465] [626]

The girl dances with the same man for the four nights. It is right then that they fall in love. A girl chooses a boy she likes. I got acquainted with my wife this way. I danced with her. That's what these dances are mostly for. [584]

To execute the partner dance, a man and woman remain in the same line but face in opposite directions. The man's left arm is opposite the woman's left arm, or his right arm is opposite her right arm. The couples, who are scattered here and there, dance forth and back in relation to the fire, about four steps one way and then four the other. Occasionally, two women tap the same man and then he must dance with both and must finally pay both. [465]

Blood kin and affinal relatives, including husband and wife, may not dance together. "You have to be sure you are not related. [602] [593]

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save about four good masked dancers, keep them fresh. These go around for about an hour and chase all the people out to dance. They even chase them from their camps and get them out of bed. They bring out the girls and make them dance. The masked dancers do not push the people toward the dance grounds with their hands. They just make the noise and motion with their sticks. They get a girl and give their cry and bring her out. I have gone after them this way. Toward morning even the girl for whom the feast is given can be brought out to dance.

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The restriction against speaking lapses for the masked dancers at this time:

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The masked dancer asks a girl, "Who shall I get for you to dance with?" The girl says, "That man by the fire." So the dancer goes over there and pulls that fellow. The man never pulls back. He has to go and dance.

The relaxation of the masked dancer's semisacred role goes even further:

The last night the masked dancer can dance with any girl if she chooses him, and this girl has to be paid. But the feast-maker has to pay her for him. The masked dancer has been helping him all night, so of his own accord the feast-giver walks out there and pays the girl. I have seen that happen many times.

Every man has to compensate his partner at the close of the dancing:

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One time everyone was paying but one man. He had nothing with him, but he must have had some horses over at his camp. This man walked around there and picked up a dry ball of horse dung. He walked back to the place where the other men were paying the women. He went to the girl he had danced with and right before the crowd he handed her the horse dung. Even in those days very few knew the meaning of this. Horses were very scarce then, and it was pretty hard to part with a horse and give it to anybody.

The girl receiving the horse dung didn't know the meaning of it. She took it home to her people, to her camp. She told her father and mother, "This is all I got!"

Her father was an old man and knew what it meant. He told her right away, "That's more than the other people got over there. That means a horse; that man means he is going to give you a horse." Sure enough, that came true.

Upon the givers of the feast falls the responsibility of seeing that all participants are satisfied with their rewards: "If a girl is not paid and the boy runs away, she can go to the ones giving the ceremony or to someone in authority there and protest. This has been done." As a final gesture of appreciation toward

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584 boy who likes your girl.' He tells what the presents will be." The degree of formality depends largely on the relations between the two families. Where a kindly understanding has been established the boy's father feels least hesitant about assuming the initiative himself. But more frequently someone other than the parent is found for this duty:

The father does not always go to the girl's family. Another relative or friend will go, or the family may hire a man who is somewhat of a public figure and will know just what to do. The go-between is paid if the marriage goes through. He is given something valuable, like a buckskin or a horse, because what he has done is a very unpleasant task to the Chiricahua mind. Something holds a man back from this. I can't describe it.

A young man may have less trouble gaining the good will of his future parents-in-law than in finding a suitable spokesman to act for him:

So I said, "You're my uncle and I plead with you to get me fixed up. It's your duty." We talked back and forth like this for a few days. I told him it was very important to me. But he took it easy. He'd just smile and light a cigarette when I'd ask him. I felt like throwing something at him. After he lit his cigarette he'd make himself more comfortable. He just gave lots of excuses. He wouldn't do it.

It was bashfulness on his part that held him back. S. (the girl's father) is a pretty important man and hard to handle, and that held him back. Besides he didn't know how to talk along this line. You have to be pretty experienced. If you are refused you have to take it gracefully. You have to know how. There are lots of things that hold a man back. It's not just going up to a man and saying, "This boy wants to marry your daughter. What do you say, yes or no?" Sometimes a go-between has to get drunk to get courage up to speak.

The go-between must be prepared to cope with embarrassing situations such as this:

When D. started to go in there, the mother said, "Here's an old man who never comes to visit us. What's up?" She thought there was something wrong. D. said, "I have come over here to speak to you."

"What do you want to speak to us about?"

"I want to speak for your daughter."

Right away the old man, the father, said, "No, nothing doing!"

The old lady told him, "Keep still! You've got nothing to say. We are poor people, and everybody dislikes you. You need some good man to defend you, to keep flies off you. If there is any good man coming—I don't know who he is—but if it's a good man, he will be a big help to me. But you begin talking against him right away!"

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remember the prayers. When a man is handing down power, if the one he is teaching cannot learn the prayers and the rest of the ceremony in four days, it is a sign that power does not want to come to him. But if the man learns easily, he is the type of person for the work, it shows. It is not a thing that the shaman has entire say about. He must consult the power, the source from which he gets his ceremony. The shaman chooses, but it must please the power.

Of the final act of the transfer, it was said:

He told us we would have to stay up with him for four nights and learn it. Then the last night, the last thing he will do is to put pollen in our mouths four times, and the fourth time the power will come to us.

Since the power could have rejected him, the student feels that he has been approved. The power, pleased with the new incumbent, appears to him, speaks to him, and performs all the services for him that it rendered his instructor. One who has learned a ceremony, if he is a more forceful and religiously minded person, may actually come to know the power better than his predecessor.

Sometimes the shaman who teaches another his ceremony does not insist on payment. More often, some payment is required or, nevertheless, proffered. In learning some ceremonies, the person "in training" must submit during the period of instruction to certain food and behavior restrictions. "If the new shaman does not follow the rules laid down by his instructor, he will lose the power."

There is no obligation to accept instruction from a shaman who is eager to give it. "I was approached by a man a long time ago who wanted to transfer his power to me. I told him, 'No, I am afraid of it.' Sometimes a person will want to hand down a ceremony, but no one will take it because it is so dangerous."

Personality differences of shamans.—Some individuals are definitely "ceremonial people." They claim the right to conduct a number of rituals obtained by personal vision experience, by instruction, or in both ways. "R. has all sorts of power in different ways; he's just full of it," was a remark made of one man. Of another great shaman, his son said:

My father knew Goose, Bear, Wolf, Lightning, and many other things. When he received his power, the last man in the cave [holy power home] said, "All these are under you."

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The round dance takes place after the war dance at the return of the party. It can come at day or night. The dance is to show that they hate the enemy. The men are in a knot in the center and go around the fire with drums, singing. The women are in a circle outside facing toward the men. They dance in a sunwise circle. The men go around too. They sing songs about raid and war, like:

Whatever you have brought back with you,
Give me some of it.

This is a sample of the songs sung; they have to do with what happens on the warpath. Another of these songs tells of one who got out on a war party and then got separated from the others. In the words it says:

I've been wandering around,
Wandering around;
When I got home,
Everyone had moved.

The partner dance, in which the woman is free to choose a male partner, follows the round dance, just as it does the nights of the girl's puberty rite. Again the women are paid by the men who have danced with them. One informant claims that the obligation to pay the dance partner is fundamental to the victory celebration, when the men are in possession of booty, and that the gift-giving following the dancing of the puberty rite is an outgrowth of this custom. "The only time men paid for social dancing in the old days was when they returned from the warpath," he asserts. "They did not pay for dancing with women during the puberty ceremony in the old days."

In the fourth dance of the night, as at the girl's puberty rite, a line of men and another of women face each other and alternately approach and separate.

A Southern Chiricahua informant mentioned one other dance which he claims sometimes took place at a victory celebration. This he calls "holy singing walk." As he describes it, a single line of individuals, with men and women alternating, extends spokelike from the fire and swings around it sunwise: "They dance this when they come back from a war party, after the 'fierce dance.' There are no partners to it. Religious songs go with it; this is more of a religious dance."

There is no evidence that conventional morality is totally dis-

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421 are his own, and his wife may not dispose of them without his permission. But if he recklessly gives away all the booty he has [431] earned in a successful raid and leaves his own family impover- [626] ished, he is subjected to stinging criticism at home and ridicule outside.

439 Trade is more likely to be intertribal than intratribal. "The women who didn't make their own pots got them in trade from the Pueblos and from the Navaho too. Those people came down with peaches and pots and things on burros and traded them for 438 saddles and things we had." But some bartering does go on 437 among tribesmen. "If a man wants a certain blanket, he offers something. If it is refused, he offers more until a deal is made." When something is needed for ceremonial purposes, a particular kind of feather, for instance, the one who has it is approached and offered whatever is required to induce him to part with it.

43 That trade is not further developed has been attributed by 463 informants to the lack of emphasis on specialization of labor:

> A good maker of bows cannot spend his time just making bows. Everyone makes his own bows and takes care of his own property. A woman who is widowed lives in a poorer condition; that's all. She does not get things she needs by trading.[19] There is not much specialization of labor. We were on the move [648] all the time. The Mexicans were always after us. A person didn't have the chance to specialize on any kind of work and trade off the things he made.

43 Another barrier to great interest in trade is the solidarity of the 602 kin group and extended family in material matters. The ease [426] with which objects can be borrowed for legitimate purposes makes less important their actual ownership and their acquisition by barter.

425 And yet, in various ways, goods do pass from person to per- [525] son. The wagering of property on games of chance, for instance, makes for a great deal of circulation of possessions of all kinds. Gambling is almost a major occupation for some individuals, and persons of all ages and both sexes show a lively interest in it. [465] Much wealth changes hands, too, as a result of payment for ceremonial services. Because so many persons are involved in the

[19] But for evidence that pots were sometimes traded see pp. 383 84.

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practice of ritual, the distribution that this fosters is constant and equitable.

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It is gift-giving that largely takes the place of trade, though the difference is mostly one of phrasing. There is the feeling that exchanges should depend upon an implicit reciprocity to be worked out in individual relations rather than in terms of declared measures of value. One speaks of "giving" instead of "selling." But it is understood that generosity begets generosity and that a man loses nothing by kindness to his neighbors. Thus [867] a father caps advice to his son with this admonition: "Do not be [577] stingy and mean. Treat people right. Give half of what you have. Then you will be invited to feasts and get presents."

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The openhanded individual builds up a fund of friends who will serve him in good stead whenever he needs assistance, material or moral. One informant told how a member of a certain family gave gifts to his wife. "Now they are our friends" was his comment. The implication is that some gesture on his part will be forthcoming later, for this is an almost inevitable consequence of friendship initiated in this way.

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Reputation and social standing are significantly related to generosity, and, even if the individual gains no more than added prestige, he does not regret his philanthropy:

> Gifts are given because we are sympathetic to one another. If someone needs food, we help him in a material way, for we feel that we are one people. We feel that way to a man who is poor. Giving is a great thing to the Chiricahua. A man can make a great reputation by giving.

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Acceptance of a gift is felt by the receiver as a claim upon him to be adjusted in his own time and way:

> You are ashamed to borrow a horse, a bow, or other things, for that shows [426] that you are not a real man and have not been on the raid and obtained things for yourself. To start out, the young man would be given the necessities. Giving is a great thing with us. I don't think there was much selling in the old days, but [432] there was always lots of giving.
>
> Even now there is not much selling. I could walk up to any man and ask for a horse. Even though I don't know him well I have a good chance of getting it. I've been offered horses. C. offered me a horse, but I never took it. I didn't take it because I did not want to feel under obligation to him. He just offered it to show his friendship. This was done in the old days a great deal.